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ABSTRACT

Images that nations have of each other become barriers to effective intercultural communication if they are overgeneralized, oversimplified, or unfairly exaggerated. The communication difficulties between Japan and the United States, for example, exemplify how images negatively influence the political and economic relations between two countries. Despite the serious economic problems of the United States, especially in the automobile industry, Japan still views the U. S. as a large, rich nation. Therefore, Japan still expects that the U. S. will continue to treat it as a subordinate and faithful ally--and a preferred trade partner, which depends on the U. S. for its continued economic growth and survival. The U. S., however, perceives Japan as the world's new industrial superstate, one that has built itself up by having unduly taken advantage of the "free" military protection and trade policies of the U. S. These negative images of Japan are perpetuated by the mass media of the U. S. To eradicate these negative images, Americans must first analyze objectively each image and try to understand why it was created. Next, they must avoid using the negative stereotype images made popular in the war. Finally, both Japan and the United States must strive to increase the academic and cultural exchanges between the two nations. (FL)

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IMAGES AS BARRIERS TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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IMAGES AS BARRIERS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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The image of Japan as "economic superpower" invites accusations that Japan has caused grave economic problems in the United States. Despite its economic superiority, Japan has not behaved honorably as an industrial giant should. Rather, it has continued in underhanded strategies such as dumping, monopolistic controls, and non-tariff barriers that seriously undermine key U. S. industries--textiles, steel, consumer electronics, and the automobile industry. Japan has rarely, if ever, taken any action to voluntarily restrict its exports to the United States in spite of the latter's repeated requests. Most recently the decline of the U. S. automobile industry has fanned strong anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States. Japanese automobile export is one of the culprits in the present period of this severe economic recession and high unemployment in the United States, as well as in related industries.

The continued conflicts between Japan and the United States over trade issues in the past two decades unfortunately have brought back negative images of Japan that were held by Americans prior to and during World War II, and, also have created new and unfavorable images of Japan and of the Japanese in the minds of the American public. Many of the images appearing in the American mass media are based on exaggerations of Japan's economic affluence that was attained by Japan at the expense of U. S. industries. A substantial number of the negative images that have been created by the media apparently reflects the ethnocentric attitudes and racial prejudice against the Japanese held by many Americans. Because these images are usually emotion-laden, they tend to hinder attempts to objectively analyze and to evaluate international issues, and, as a consequence, they often become barriers to successful intercultural communication between Japan and the United States.

Tsutomu Kano claims that there is an "image gap"[1]--a wide disparity between the well-publicized image of Japan as a productive nation and the realities of Japanese life for the ordinary Japanese citizen. Japan's wealth is grossly overstated since the actual living standards are much

lower than the per capita Gross National Product (GNP) of Japan would indicate. Housing conditions are terrible, food is very expensive, and the social security system and other social welfare allowances are woefully inadequate. Even though most Japanese may feel that they are economically much better off than they were ten or fifteen years ago, they feel that they are far short of being affluent. There is also a sort of international paranoia about "Japanese economic militarism" patterned after the infamous Japanese invasion forces during World War II, despite the fact that Japan is no longer a militaristic country.

It seems necessary to analyze these negative and erroneous images of Japan and to find out why and how such images are being created and perpetuated, if we wish to eliminate them and to facilitate better intercultural communication between Japan and the United States.

Japan is an Economic Superstate

In 1970, Herman Kahn declared in his book, The Emerging Japanese Superstate, that the twenty-first century would be the Japanese century. He described Japan's economic recovery from the total devastation of World War II as an "economic miracle," and prophesied that Japan would overtake the United States and the rest of the industrialized nations in GNP.[2] In 1972, Kakuei Tanaka, a former prime minister of Japan, wrote a book in which he expounded his new plan for remodeling the Japanese archipelago. He boastfully talked about the forces that built modern Japan and about his ambitious designs for escalating Japan's prosperity at home and abroad.[3]

Indeed, a sudden rise in Japan's huge credit in the balance of payments with the United States and what appears to be a bright future of economic development spurred a large amount of Japanese capital investment in American real estate, hotel and restaurant industries. Unprecedented and extremely aggressive investment activities by many Japanese companies caused unfavorable reactions and even fears of Japanese takeover in the United States. The following are a few examples of such reactions:

> The Japanese, having gobbled up huge chunks of Hawaiian real estate, are tackling the U. S. mainland just as voraciously . . . . 'It's not unlikely that we'll soon see Americans driving away from their made-in-Japan homes in their made-in-Japan autos to their made-in-Japan golf courses.' Dollar devaluation and yen revaluation have made U. S. real estate dirt cheap for the Japanese.[4]
>
> Tourism, the Islands' No. 2 industry, will be controlled by Japanese investors within five years. For Japanese tourists, Hawaii

> has become a favorite vacation spot; for businessmen, a favorite investment field. Many island hotels are owned by Japanese interests.[5]

In view of such reactions, a number of questions should be asked: "Is Japan that rich?" "Did the Japanese really take over the real estate industry and Hawaii's tourist industry?" The answer to both of these questions is "No." Despite all of the publicity, Japan's total investment in the United States was estimated to be $1.14 billion in 1973 while the overseas U. S. capital investment totaled more than $90 billion.[6] The cumulative Japanese investment in Hawaii from 1959 to March 1980 was $434,150,000.00; Japanese companies own 17 hotels or 7,814 hotel rooms--this represents 8.9 percent of the hotels or 15 percent of the hotel rooms in the State of Hawaii. The number of Japanese tourists visiting Hawaii in 1979 was 580,000, or 14.9 percent of the visitors to Hawaii.[7]

The energy crisis of 1973 and the subsequent worldwide recessions have slowed down the expanding Japanese economy from 1973 through 1977, and, as a consequence, Mr. Tanaka's dream of remodeling the Japanese archipelago did not take place. But again in 1979, Ezra Vogel, an American sociologist, published a bestseller, Japan As No. 1: Lessons for America, and praised Japan's accomplishments despite its many disadvantages as a nation without natural resources. He boldly declares:

> Japan has dealt more successfully with more of the basic problems of postindustrial society than any other country. It is in this sense I have come to believe that the Japanese are number one . . . . The extent of Japanese superiority over the United States in industrial competitiveness is underpublicized in America, but the true state of affairs was reflected by a high official of a leading Japanese research center who privately acknowledged that the United States with its highly competitive agricultural sector has now taken the place of Japan's prewar colonies, supply agricultural products and raw materials to a superior modern industrial machine.[8]

Vogel's ravishing praise was pleasing to hear, for the Japanese, as evidenced by the sales figures of the Japanese edition of his book. However, the majority of Japanese scholars, politicians and business leaders who are well-informed on the realities of the Japanese society and its many problems do not agree with Vogel's contentions at all. Instead, they fear that Vogel's Japan as a "utopia" in the post-industrial era has caused other nations to have strong negative feelings or even hatred against Japan. The Japanese themselves do not feel that they deserve to be "No. 1," as Vogel

insists. Rather, they are truly afraid that Japan is extremely vulnerable to international repercussions that could very well be caused by this undeserving image. Indeed, deep-seated anxiety over Japan's future in the minds of many Japanese has caused a Nihonjin-ron boom or an "introspection boom" since the early 1970's. The fact is that the Japanese have been seeking their own identity in the context of Japan's new economic status in the world.

The tremendous popularity of the cultural science fiction book, Nihon Chinbotsu, is further indication that the Japanese are very worried about their future. The author of this book describes the events leading to the sinking of the entire Japanese archipelago and the fate of one hundred million homeless Japanese wandering aimlessly throughout the world, because they have allowed themselves to bask in self-satisfied cultural isolation.[9]

Contrary to the realities in Japan, the image of Japan in the United States is that of affluence. For example, the cartoon in a recent issue of the Washington Star depicts Japan's economic superiority as a huge sumo wrestler who overshadows a stunned, skinny American. The Japanese sumo wrestler has a wide Yen mawashi or belt, and the captions say: "Rule 1: Don't get thrown. Rule 2: Stay in the ring. Rule 3: Remain calm. Rule 4: Learn Japanese. Rule 5: Watch his eyes." The image of this particular cartoon figure is "A Japanese economic giant smothers the poor American with underhanded tactics." (See Appendix A) It does not indicate at all that the Japanese government financed 40 percent of its budget with debt in 1979 and 34 percent in 1980. It also fails to mention that Japan's much-talked about economic prosperity is totally dependent upon the continued amicable relationship with the United States and with the protection of the U. S. military.

America is Still at War with Japan

Even though more than 35 years have gone by since Japan's surrender to the Allied Forces in 1945, almost all Japanese actions toward the United States are still described in terms of "attacks" and "invasions" that connote the same hostility and hatred toward the Japanese. In the early 1970's, the influx of Japanese tourists on group tours was frequently described as "Japan's Peaceful Invasion of Hawaii."[10] The sudden rush of Japanese capital investment in Hawaii's real estate was reported in a Time magazine article titled, "Japanese Invade Hawaii." The article includes a bitter remark by a Honolulu cab driver, "What the Japanese couldn't do during World War II,

they are trying to do with bags of money--take these islands."[11]

The recent controversy on the influx of Japanese cars into the U. S. market was also characterized as "Invasion of Japanese Cars." A cartoon by Lurie shows a "battle scene" in which thousands of Japanese cars are attacking the fortress named "U. S. Economy" and are winning the battle handily.[12] (See Appendix B) Business Week magazine's feature article on the troubled U. S. auto industry has a cartoon which reversed the symbolic flag-raising at Iwo Jima by the U. S. Marines toward the end of the Pacific War and shows "Japanese soldiers" raising a Japanese flag on top of a highrise building in Detroit. The cartoon has a caption which reads, "Flag-Raising Over Detroit."[13] (See Appendix C)

"Industrial Paul Revere Warns: Japanese Are Coming!" is a newspaper headline describing the awesome Japanese industrial power which has taken over the U. S. economy.[14]

A recent issue of Time magazine has on the cover page a Japanese samurai warrior who is carrying an attache case, a camera, calculator, car keys, digital watch, golf club, etc. This feature article depicts a "Japanese businessman warrior" ready to fight Japan's economic war against other industrialized nations.[15]

The Japanese are Inscrutable

A famous cliche, "inscrutable Oriental," is sometimes used to describe the Japanese in the mass media today. "Japan Inscrutable on Car Curbs" is the headline of a newspaper article reporting the evasiveness of Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito, who ostensibly came to Washington to negotiate the auto import issue but gave no sign that Japan would voluntarily curb auto exports. He was quoted as saying, ". . . a major objective is to preserve the principle of free trade. As to the specific . . . there will continue to be discussions. Both sides would try to bring about satisfactory resolution of the problem . . ."[16] His ambiguous and noncommittal statements were naturally viewed as evidence of Japan's inscrutability when the Reagan Administration was expecting the voluntary export curb which was repeatedly and strongly hinted at by the United States.

Inscrutability of the Japanese has always been a topic of discussion at international seminars. The Suntory Symposium held in April 1978 in Tokyo took up this particular subject and invited several Japanese and foreign scholars to discuss why the Japanese are considered inscrutable.

Claude Levi-Strauss explains the profound frustration Westerners often encounter when communicating with the Japanese as follows:

> A paradox of a more special nature emerges from the historic relations between Japan and the West. When Western observers claim, occasionally with the endorsement of the Japanese themselves, that when all is said and done Japan remains "inscrutable," it does not imply that a dialogue between us has never occurred, or that it was particularly difficult. On the contrary, of all the so-called exotic countries with which the Western world opened a dialogue beginning in the 16th century, nowhere did this dialogue unfold more smoothly--after it was brutally enforced --and nowhere did it bring more rapid and mutually rewarding results than in Japan. If Japan, therefore, is declared inscrutable, it does not imply an impossibility of communication between us. Rather, it means that the Western interlocutor who, in general, enjoys a communication so fruitful and so effortless, and theoretically limitless, feels a profound frustration when he occasionally encounters a dead end which is all the more unaccountable to him because it is completely unexpected.[17]

Toru Haga explains why the Japanese are regarded as inscrutable by quoting Inazo Nitobe who served as Vice-Secretary General of the League of Nations in the 1930's:

> Unfortunately, the Japanese are not good at foreign languages . . . to their great disadvantage. For, due to their poor linguistic ability, the Japanese cannot express what they think and are regarded with undue suspicion . . . . The Japanese are believed somewhat strange: strange because they remain silent. If they were considered less talented, foreigners would not feel ill at ease with the Japanese. But the Japanese are talented and reasonably intelligent, and silent. Hence, they are regarded as being a bit strange.[18]

Levi-Strauss points out that inscrutability of the Japanese is derived not from the impossibility or lack of communication between Japan and the West but from the peculiar Japanese ways of communicating with the West. Haga explains that the lack of linguistic ability and the silence on the part of the Japanese are responsible for this "strangeness" of the Japanese. However, both Levi-Strauss and Haga seem to agree that the problem of intercultural communication with the Japanese is not merely the much-talked about linguistic difficulty but rather the image-gap between what the Japanese ought to be like and what they really are.

Harumi Befu talks about another reason for the so-called inscrutability of the Japanese which he calls "cultural doubletalk." He says:

> In Japanese society, smooth human relationships are emphasized so much, and open disagreement and violent disagreement are suppressed so much, that you have to develop a way of saying one thing while meaning something else. One crucial thing about learning to be Japanese, which

> means to be socialized, is to learn what people mean without saying it. In American society, on the other hand, the norm of the society emphasizes that you should say what you mean. In Japan, it's the other way around. The person who speaks out violates the social norm and tends to be ostracized.[19]

In the Japanese cultural context, the fact that Foreign Minister Ito did not say exactly what Japan would do to resolve the current auto import issue is not an "inscrutable act" or dishonesty on his part. Rather, he intentionally avoided open disagreement with American government officials over this highly political matter.

Why and How Negative Images are Created and Perpetuated

Generally speaking, images of a foreign country and its people are formed in one's mind from incidents in direct encounters with foreigners, second-hand information obtained from his family members and friends, and from the mass media. However, the largest percentage of the images people have of each other come from TV programs, movies, magazines, newspaper articles, and books. They tend to depict stereotyped images of the people and these are often exaggerated and distorted, are based on ethnocentrism, racial prejudices, or on outdated observations.

Unfortunately, the images of Japan and the Japanese in the minds of many Americans date back to the days of the Meiji Restoration of the 1860's. For example, the images of the exotic Orient and of samurai warriors are recounted in such movies as "Madame Butterfly," "Blackship and Townsend Harris," "The Barbarian and the Geisha," and most recently, "Shōgun." And the militaristic images of the Japanese are perpetuated in movies about World War II, such as "Tora, Tora, Tora," "Midway," "Bridge Over the River Kwai," and others. Japanese military officers and soldiers are always characterized as men of fierce patriotism, total devotion and loyalty, Kamikaze spirit, and self-sacrifice. In Hawaii, even though 40 years have gone by since the December 7 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, local newspapers recount the Japanese attack with front page stories on the anniversary day to remind the public of the tragedy.

Consequently, Japanese government actions and Japanese businessmen's behavior are often described in a language of "hostility" in spite of the fact that Japan is no longer a militaristic country as it once was. It seems that there are several reasons why such negative images of the Japanese are being created in the American mass media: sensationalism and card-stacking, the inability of American reporters to understand Japanese, the

personal biases of American reporters, the rejection of alien intrusion by the American society, racism, and using the Japanese as a scapegoat.

Sensationalism and card-stacking are common devices in reporting newsworthy international events. Sensational headlines such as "Japan's 'Peaceful Invasion' of Hawaii," "Japanese Invade Hawaii," and "Expanding Japanese Economy Seen as a Threat to World Trade," can always gain public attention and contribute to the reconfirmation of the old images that people already had in their minds because they help the readers associate Japan with those images. In some instances, articles under these sensational headlines treat the Japan-U.S. economic or political issues with fairness and objectivity, but the negative impact has already been made through the headlines as far as image-making is concerned.

For example, the content of the U. S. News and World Report article written under the headline, "Japan's 'Peaceful Invasion' of Hawaii," did not cover any invasion of Hawaii by the Japanese. Rather, it described the recent influx of Japanese tourists to Hawaii and the economic benefits for Hawaii's tourist industry. However, the headline apparently helped Hawaii residents confirm or remind themselves of the old negative images of Japan that were based on Japan's "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor.

One example of card-stacking is blaming the Japanese auto imports alone for Chrysler's serious financial and management problems. American mass media failed to report that one of the major reasons Chrysler Corporation suffered its worst financial disaster is that the wrong decision was made by Chrysler's top management to subcontract Mitsubishi Motor Company to build almost all of their subcompact cars until just recently. Chrysler had become an automobile wholesaler rather than a manufacturer and sought short-term profits instead of developing a long-term corporate strategy to meet the changing demands of American consumers. Chrysler has always had Mitsubishi produce such cars as the Dodge Colt, Plymouth Arrow and Sapporo, and has been importing a large number of these cars for the U. S. subcompact car market for more than ten years. In fact, they exported the jobs to Japan and failed to develop necessary technology and tooling for subcompact cars because they found it more profitable to have Mitsubishi make all of these cars and sell them through Chrysler's dealerships. The total number of Japanese auto imports in 1980 is estimated to be 1.9 million, and this figure also includes the "captive imports," cars

exclusively imported by Chrysler from Mitsubishi, but no mention has been made of this fact in any of the articles dealing with the negative impact of Japanese auto imports.

Lee A. Iacocca acknowledges that loading up the first wave of the K-cars with costly options was a mistake. He also says that the high interest rates, the costly regulatory demands, the poor fiscal and tax policies of the Federal Government are ruining the U. S. auto industry.[20]

Thayer points out American's tendency to "politicize" an economic issue and the poor coverage of Japan by American newspapers as reasons for perpetuating inaccurate images of the Japanese in the United States. He says:

> When Japanese and Americans talk together, they have language problems which go beyond mere words. On most political matters, for example, Japanese talk in economic terms. In the American case, we talk about economic matters, but we like to couch it in political language . . . Japanese newspapers carry a great deal of information about the U.S., but it is specific, economics-oriented information . . . . If we look at American newspaper reporting on Japan, it is dismal. Somebody said we rely on just five reporters, and the amount of space they have to report in is inadequate. Even in good newspapers, they can get no more than 700 words perhaps three times a week. I don't think you can report even political news in Japan in 2100 words.[21]

McNeil also criticizes the poor training of U. S. newsmen who are sent to Japan to gather news for their headquarters:

> The training of U.S. newsmen almost seems like a ticket punching exercise; they do a foreign correspondent stint and go back to the home office. Moreover, we have very few people in Japan who speak Japanese well, and very few who have been out there for a long time.[22]

Besides, many senior foreign correspondents or editors for international affairs who write on Japan are former war correspondents who covered the Pacific war when they were young reporters. These newsmen still have vivid memories of the Japanese as enemies and a set of negative labels for the Japanese which they can use in describing the current "economic war" between Japan and the United States.

The United States indeed is a multiracial, multicultural and multilingual society, but this does not mean that race relations among various racial groups are harmonious and egalitarian in nature. It is not inaccurate to say that white Americans as a whole still tend to discriminate against the Japanese who first immigrated to the United States as contract laborers some 100 years ago. The initial racial discrimination turned into strong resentment when the Japanese began to successfully compete with white Americans, because the Japanese did not stay in their "proper place" in the American

social hierarchy. A similar observation can be made in the irritation that the United States has shown when Japan started to violate the superior-inferior relationship established by the U. S. victory in the Pacific war against Japan.

Despite all the verbiage about equal partnership, Japan is still the junior partner. American political leaders often resort to heavy-handed pressure tactics for short-term political gains rather than negotiating on the basis of mutual and reciprocal benefit.[23]

The majority of Americans believe that the United States is still a great economic power, and this image of themselves affects the way Americans perceive the Japanese. The Japanese are causing all sorts of problems that have tarnished this "big nation's image." Americans find it difficult to accept the fact that Japan is no longer a subservient Asian nation but a full-fledged industrial power. Givens blames the lack of a national industrial policy and American overconfidence for the failure of many American industries.[24]

However, it is quite evident that the recent influx of Japanese capital investment in real estate, electronics, automobile, speciality steel, retail, restaurant and hotel industries of the United States is not wholeheartedly and unconditionally welcomed by the Americans, although some American labor unions and several state governments are compelled to actively solicit Japanese investments to create jobs for unemployed Americans.

Many Americans may feel disturbed if they are accused of having racial prejudice against the Japanese. However, it is difficult to exclude "white racism" as a contributing factor in creating and perpetuating negative images of the Japanese. The Japanese are often called "Japs," "Asian Jews," "Economic Animals," "Yellow Yankees," "Ugly Japanese," or "Honorary Whites," because they are Asians in physical features but are "Westerners" in intelligence, diligence and business acumen. The Japanese have always been accused of being too successful and overtaking the white races in economic achievement. The Japanese-Americans in the United States, even in the early 1900's, were blamed for accepting low wages and thereby undermining the existing labor standards of American workmen.[25] Today, the Japanese are again being blamed for the same reasons, because Japanese workers in the auto industry are far more productive and are willing to work for lower wages than their American counterparts.

Those actions by the members of the United Auto Workers' Union such as the smashing of a Japanese automobile in public and the parking rule that bans all foreign-made automobiles except U. S. and Canadian vehicles at the UAW headquarters in Detroit seem to be the racially-motivated expressions of anti-Japanese sentiment.[26] (See Appendix D)

Germans and Italians living in the United States at the outbreak of World War II were not interned while more than 100,000 men, women and children of Japanese ancestry (two-thirds of these people were American citizens) were placed in relocation camps by the U. S. Government.[27] When Volkswagens and Fiats were bestsellers in the U. S. auto market several years ago, none of these cars were smashed by "angry American auto workers."

In many instances, the Japanese are scapegoats because it is easier for American top management and labor leaders to blame Japan and disguise their own ineptness. However, many well-informed Americans admit that the Japanese are not to be blamed for the recent economic disaster in the U. S. auto industry. U. S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen and John Danforth said, "no one suggests that quotas [on Japanese imports] constitute a solution to the problems of American automakers."[28] A cartoon by Herblock satirizes the current U. S. auto industry problems by showing a small taxpayer and an equally small consumer who are overburdened respectively by a fat business executive asking for more government loans and another cigar-smoking executive demanding protectionism. (See Appendix E)

At the ground-breaking ceremony of a $300 million pickup truck plant in Smyra, Tennessee, the executive vice president of Nissan Motor Co., Ltd., was jeered and booed by 1,500 Americans. One law officer was knocked unconscious and tires were punctured on the truck that was to break the ground. Some members of trade unions carried placards urging a boycott of Datsun vehicles, and a small plane circled overhead with a banner that read, "Boycott Datsun . . . Put America Back to Work."[29] It is very unfortunate that Nissan Motor Co., was made the scapegoat in Tennessee over the hiring of a non-union construction company when they decided to invest there at the urging of the State of Tennessee and with the sincere intent to create 2,200 jobs in that community.

The real culprit of the U.S. automakers' problems is lagging productivity and poor quality of their products, especially of subcompact cars. (See Appendix F) The Japan-United States Economic Relations Group's report

shows that the United States has had the lowest productivity growth rate of any advanced industrial economy. The report indicates that the average annual growth rate of the U. S. industries was 0.5 percent for 1977-78 and 1.5 percent for 1978-79, while Japan's growth rate was 7.9 percent and 8.3 percent respectively.[30]

It is also a well-established fact that many American buyers of new made-in-U.S.A. cars are extremely dissatisfied with the poor quality workmanship on these cars. They often have to return their cars to the dealers for replacement of defective parts and/or preventive maintenance.

Positive Steps to Remove these Negative Images

There are several causes or factors that seem to have contributed to the continued use of these negative images in describing the Japanese in the American mass media. Evidently, the first step is for Americans to objectively analyze each of these images and try to understand the context in which it was originally created. The image of "Japan as an Economic Superpower" was first coined by Herman Kahn and later popularized by Ezra Vogel. Both of these writers are outsiders who have never lived in Japan for any extensive length of time among the average Japanese population. Therefore, their conclusions on Japan's economic power and affluence seem to have been drawn from the research on very impressive Japanese government statistics and personal interviews with "affluent" Japanese business leaders or politicians. They apparently failed to look into the actual standard of living and the quality of life of the majority of Japanese citizens. The rate of increase of their living standard and their annual income could be much higher than that of their American counterparts, but they actually live in a much smaller house or apartment, eat poorer meals, spend more money for energy, pay a lot more money for their children's education, and spend three or four hours a day just commuting to and from work in congested trains. In fact, a British official of the European Common Market, who visited Japan several years ago, insulted the Japanese by saying that they live in a "rabbit hutch and work like mad." Kazuo Hayakawa, a former official of the Japanese Ministry of Construction, wrote about the miserable housing accommodations available to the average Japanese family. He reports that the acute sociological, psychological and physiological problems such as high crime rates, mental illnesses, suicides and miscarriages are caused by the overcrowding, congestion, noise and pollution among those Japanese citizens who live in

large urban centers.[31]

Despite the enviable current prosperity, it must be recognized that Japan is extremely vulnerable to embargoes of oil, raw materials, or food, by its trading partners and to any protectionist trade restrictions by imposed by other countries. Japan must continue to generate a larger amount of exports every year in order to pay for ever-increasing costs of industrial raw materials it has to import. In short, Japan will perish if it cannot continue to export. In this context, Japan is indeed a "fragile economic superstate" as described by Zbingniew Brezezinski.[32]

The second step is not to use the negative stereotype images that were made popular by the wartime propaganda against the Japanese, even though they may be catchy and convenient lables for getting the American readers' or audience's attention instantaneously. Such negative terms as "attack" and "invade" should not be used in describing Japan and Japanese behavior, because they connote an attitude of hostility and belligerence by the Japanese. Granted that sensationalism is one of the best methods of gaining attention, but it must not revive the old wartime images of Japan. At the same time, any story or article on the Japan-U.S. controversy must be written from the perspectives of both countries rather than writing about it from the U.S. point of view only.

Mike Mansfield, U. S. Ambassador to Japan, expounded that for the United States, no single nation is more important as a friend, trading partner and ally than Japan, although many Americans have tended to see Japan solely as an economic competitor. It is inaccurate to define the Japan-U.S. relationship by trade-flows and squabbles, because Japan is an ally and a partner in many ventures.[33]

The third step is to increase better understanding and goodwill between Japan and the United States through more academic and cultural exchanges. Americans must relinquish the arrogance of always having been the citizens of the richest and the largest country in the world, and become more sensitive to the needs of other countries. In other words, more and more American businessmen and political leaders should visit Japan to see for themselves what Japan is like and to personally get to know the Japanese. They should make sincere efforts to study the language, culture, business customs, politics, and the people of Japan on their own, instead of learning about Japan solely through biased information provided by the American mass media. No successful educational or cultural exchange can take place unless it is carried out based

on mutual respect and equal participation by both Japan and the United States.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Tsutomu Kano, "Why the Search for Identity," in The Silent Power: Japan's Identity and World Role (Tokyo: The Simul Press, Inc., 1976), pp. 2-3.

[2] Herman Kahn, The Emerging Japanese Superstate: Challenge and Response (Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 1-2.

[3] Kakuei Tanaka, Building A New Japan: A Plan for Remodeling the Japanese Archipelago (Tokyo: The Simul Press, Inc., 1972).

[4] "Japan: Why the Japanese Like U. S. Real Estate," Business Week (November 10, 1973), 61.

[5] "Japan's 'Peaceful Invasion' of Hawaii," U. S. News and World Report (July 2, 1973), 69.

[6] "The New Competition from Foreign-based Multinationals," Business Week (July 7, 1973), 56.

[7] The State of Hawaii Date Book 1980: A Statistical Abstract (Honolulu, HI.: Department of Planning and Economic Development, 1980), pp. 155, 518.

[8] Ezra Vogel, Japan as No. 1: Lessons for America (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp viii, 13.

[9] Tadao Umesao, "Escape from Cultural Isolation," in The Silent Power: Japan's Identity and World Role (Tokyo: The Simul Press, Inc., 1976), p. 23.

[10] "Japan's 'Peaceful Invasion' of Hawaii," 69.

[11] "The Japanese Invade Hawaii," Time (July 2, 1973), 55.

[12] Honolulu Star-Bulletin (May 4, 1979), A-12.

[13] "Detroit Hopes the Worst is Over," Business Week (July 12, 1980), 63.

[14] "Industrial Paul Revere Warns: Japanese Are Coming!," Honolulu Star-Bulletin (September 22, 1980), A-15.

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Appendix A--see reference to cartoon, page 4.

Appendix B--see footnote 12.

Appendix C--see footnote 13.

Appendix D--see footnote 26.

Appendix E--see footnote 28.

Appendix F--see footnote 30.